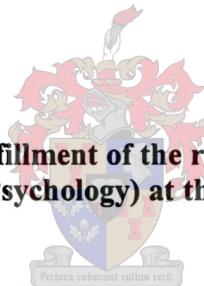


# **THE CONTRIBUTING ROLE OF SOME CIRCUMSTANTIAL FACTORS IN FUELING FAMILY VIOLENCE**

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**Thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts (Counselling Psychology) at the University of Stellenbosch.**



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## **DECLARATION**

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work, and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

**Cornell W Pretorius**

## SUMMARY

The aim of this study was to determine whether any relationship existed between identified circumstantial factors about the living conditions of black families and specific conflict tactics employed by them in an informal settlement in the Helderberg basin. The research hypothesis is founded on crime statistics for the past five years for the Helderberg basin that have shown a generally higher crime incidence/reporting rate for informal and low cost-housing compared to more affluent areas in the basin (CIAC, 2000). The purpose of exploring the existence of such a relationship was to highlight particular circumstantial factors, assisting decision makers at local government to intervene more effectively in terms of funds and resources to ensure safer community.

A semi-structured questionnaire, developed by the author, was used to determine the presence of circumstantial factors in this community; the **Conflict Tactic Scales, (CTS)**, developed by Straus (1979), served as the measure to assess the predominant conflict tactics employed by families in Nomzamo, an informal settlement in the Helderberg basin. Fifty families (2 members per family) participated in the study with one condition that one of the members should be a child between the ages of 12 and 17.

The only significant relationship that was obtained was between the circumstantial factor-level of education, and the conflict tactic-physical assault between spouses, which highlights the fact that continued education raises ones' awareness and empowers one to speak out against violence in the home. Possible reasons were offered, given that no other significant trends could be determined in the study and recommendations for future research in this field are made.



## OPSOMMING

Die doel van die studie was om vas te stel of daar enigsins 'n verband bestaan tussen bepaalde omgewingsfaktore verwant aan die lewensomstandighede van swart gesinne in 'n informele nedersetting in die Helderberg-kom en spesifieke konflik strategieë deur hulle gebruik. Die navorsing hipotese spruit voort uit misdaad statistiek oor die afgelope vyf jaar vir die Helderberg-kom, wat oor die algemeen 'n hoë misdaadaanmeldingsyfer vertoon vir informele en lae-koste behuising areas in vergelyke met meer gegoede areas in die kom (CIAC, 2000). Die bepaling of daar wel 'n verband bestaan, het ten doel om besluitmakers binne plaaslike owerhede te assisteer om fondse tot hul beskikking, meer effektief aan te wend om misdaad verder te bekamp en die gemeenskap te beveilig.

Die bepaling van die teenwoordigheid van omgewingsfaktore binne die gemeenskap, is gedoen deur middel van 'n semi-gestruktureerde vraelys wat deur die skrywer ontwikkel is; om vas te stel welke konflik strategieë meerendeels deur gesinne gebruik word in dié informele nedersetting, is gebruik gemaak van die **Conflict Tactic Scales (CTS)** soos ontwikkel deur Straus (1979). Vyftig gesinne (twee lede per gesin) het deelgeneem aan die studie met die voorwaarde dat een van die lede van die gesin 'n adolessent tussen 12 en 17 moes wees.

Die enigste beduidenswaardige verband wat verkry is, was tussen die omgewingsfaktor – opvoedingspeil, en die konflik strategie – fisiese aanranding tussen eggenote. Dit dui daarop dat met toenemende onderrig, verhoog 'n mens se gewaarwording en word 'n mens bemaagtig om 'n standpunt in te neem teen geweld in die huis. Sekere redes word aangevoer gegee die feit dat geen ander beduidende verbande voortgespruit het uit die studie nie en voorstelle vir verder navorsing in dié veld word gegee.



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This work is the result of a research project, which is of the same extent as that required for master's theses.

It is a rule within the Department of Psychology that the report of the research may take the form of an article, which is ready for submission for publication to a scientific journal.

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## ***THE CONTRIBUTING ROLE OF SOME CIRCUMSTANTIAL FACTORS IN FUELING FAMILY VIOLENCE***

### **1. Introduction**

South Africa is a violent country – Glanz (1995) reported that between 1990 and 1994 violent crime in general, rose 25%. Louw (1999) purported five years later that there had been no significant change in South Africa's high crime statistics since 1994. Crime statistics from the Crime Information Analysis Centre (CIAC) in May 1999 indicated that South Africa has the highest murder rate in the world with the Western Cape being seen as the murder hot spot of the globe. Disturbing as these statistics may seem, these crime figures should not be viewed in isolation, given South Africa's recent past. Consider an analysis of perpetrators' testimonies heard by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), this once again highlights the extent of gross violation of human rights (i.e. rape, torture, abductions, various forms of psychological and bodily cruelty) and over 25 000 deaths that occurred since 1960 (Foster, 2000). Perpetrators' actions were analyzed in terms of four broad areas – contexts, perspectives of perpetrators, explications of motives and actions, and neglected factors. Using a similar analysis, a link can be made between South Africa's current crime situation and its context – a young democracy being established in the wake of severe political violence; the eradication and replacement of a defense- and police-force void of the majority of people's trust; and a criminal element taking full advantage of the transition period. Foster (2000) reiterated the role of particular situations, given perpetrators' testimonies, as triggers for violence – perpetrators did what they did because the situation demanded it and they felt themselves entitled to do so (Lamb, 1990).

Do families therefore find themselves in situations/circumstances that unequivocally lead to violence?

From a social learning perspective, McKendrick and Hoffmann (1990) stated, "the family can be regarded as the cradle of violence because experiences of violence in childhood and family life are invariably socialized into a cycle of violence" (p. 164). According to Pretorius (1997) a potential link exists between violence in the family and violence in society – "the experience of aggression in the family may be the training ground for violence in society" (p. 115). A similar sentiment was echoed by Glanz in 1997 stating that family violence in South Africa cannot be seen in isolation from violence at other levels in society as "violence within families has serious implications for the stability of society" (p. 1). The emphasis of this study was on the situational perspective specifically to determine whether some identified circumstantial factors do play a role, and if so, to what extent do they fuel the level of family violence at home especially as it pertains to a structured informal settlement in the Helderberg basin in the Western Cape.

Support for this perspective is found if one compares crime statistics (CIAC, 2000) among the suburbs in this area over a said period of five years. The Strand had 27 murders in 1995 of which 7% were committed in Nomzamo (an informal settlement). In 1999, 62 murders took place in the Strand with 41 (66%) specifically in Nomzamo. There



were 173 common assault charges in 1995 in Macassar of which 34% occurred among residents in low cost housing of Block # 4624 – this figure rose to 351 in 1999 with 40% contribution coming from this same area. Block # 4624 in 1999 was responsible for 31% of all rape and attempted rape offences (N = 59) and 46% of all murders (N = 26) committed. Sun City (an informal settlement) and Sir Lowry's Pass Village (low cost housing) contributed 23% of all assault-with-intent charges (N = 80) in Somerset West in 1995; in the same year, 24% of all rape and attempted rape offences (N = 25) and 20% of all murders (N = 20) took place in these areas. In 1999, 40% of all assault-with-intent offences (N = 139), 30% of all murders (N = 23) and 34% of all rape and attempted rape charges (N = 47) were reported in the above two areas.

Crime figures for other areas in the Strand, Somerset West and Macassar suburbs, which are more middle class- and affluent, were much lower for the same offences over the same period. Rubensweg in Macassar had no reports of rape/attempted rape- or murder charges for 1999; the same for Spanish Farm in Somerset West. Greenways in the Strand had 1% contribution to the rape/attempted rape figure of 93 in 1999 (CIAC, 2000). It appears from these crime statistics that informal settlements and low cost housing areas in the basin are more susceptible to violence than others. A draft paper in support of the National Crime Prevention Strategy in 1998 emphasized that local governments and planners should focus “on high crime localities and consider the environmental factors in these areas – townships and informal settlements – which make them conducive to criminality” as such an analysis could assist in “environmental design interventions as part of broader development interventions and local crime prevention strategies” (Napier et al., 1998, p. 3).

Groups of related circumstances that have surfaced over the past few decades in the USA as contributing causes of violence include poverty (Coulton, Karbin, Su & Chow, 1995; Hsieh & Pugh, 1993), racial composition (Neopolitan, 1992), urbanization and population density (Garbarino & Kostelny, 1992; Sampson & Groves, 1989), residential mobility (Sampson & Lauritsen, 1993), family disruption (Coulton et al., 1995), and social impoverishment (Garbarino & Kostelny, 1992). Is it possible then that similar circumstances do exist in an informal settlement in the Helderberg basin in the Western Cape? And if so, what impact do these factors have on the conflict tactic employed in the home?

A key component of highlighting certain circumstantial factors especially related to a ‘high crime locality’ (Napier et al., 1998), will be to assist decision makers at ground level and local government to intervene more effectively in terms of funds and resources, making the community safer. More so, in the words of Cooper (2000) finding “...a practical way of affirming *those* who have sacrificed so that *society* [italics added] may enjoy the fruits of a democracy which, all too often, are taken for granted” (p. 1).



The aims of the present study were therefore:

- (i) to determine whether any relationship exists between identified circumstantial factors and specific conflict tactics employed by families residing in an informal settlement in the Helderberg basin;
- (ii) to explore whether families from the Nomzamo community – Helderberg basin – are more susceptible to violence given their current situation/circumstances and their choice of conflict tactic employed;
- (iii) to investigate whether there is a difference in perception between parents and children regarding conflicts tactics employed in the home;
- (iv) to explore whether there are certain circumstantial factors that exhibit a stronger relationship with one specific conflict tactic in comparison to another.

## 2. Key concepts defined

According to Websdale (1998) the “phenomenon of family violence is seen differently at different moments in history” (p. 69) and how one will frame the different aspects of family violence, is dictated in many ways by the agenda of the individual/group in question (Finkelhor, Hotelling & Yllö, 1988). Bourlet (1990) stressed the presence of a key ‘subjective’ element in defining violence in the home stating “our perception of violence and its acceptability often depends upon the circumstances of experience and the situation of participants” (p. 1). Glanz (1997) alluded to a *continuum of violence* in that violence in families not only “prevents individuals from reaching their full potential” but also “threatens to jeopardize the development of communities and is ultimately a stumbling block to the building of a nation” (p. 1).

The ‘subjective’ component of this study alludes to the identified circumstantial factors and whether the presence of these factors inhibits individuals from meaningfully contributing to society or acts as triggers for them to behave violently. In the late fifties conflict theorists already posited that conflict is an inevitable part of all human association, whereas violence as a tactic to deal with conflict is not (Coser, 1956; Dahrendorf, 1959; Simmel, 1955). Tactics to deal with conflict include violence, but are not limited to violence. Furthermore, violence per se is not restricted to only include the physical component, but also the psychological component (Gelles & Cornell, 1990; Viano, 1992). Psychological violence is defined as “verbal or non-verbal threats of violence against another person or against that person’s belongings” (Edleson, 1984, p. 236). In defining physical violence, Gelles and Cornell (1990) made a further distinction between acts of *normal* violence and acts of *abusive* violence based on the potential for injuring the victim.



Straus (1990) has, through extensive research identified five categories of tactics in dealing with conflict, which includes *negotiation, psychological aggression, physical assault, sexual coercion* and *injury*. These categories are not extensive but include the majority of characteristics in Table 1 and have proved to be useful in several studies (see *Measuring instruments*)

Table 1

Examples of the different components of violence

<sup>a</sup> Psychological violence	<sup>b</sup> Physical violence		
	Normal	Abusive	
Threatening suicide	Slaps	Punches	Scalding
Destroying pets	Pushes	Kicks	Beatings
Punching walls	Shoves	Bites	Stabbings
Throwing objects	Spankings	Chokings's	Shootings

<sup>a</sup>Purdy & Nickle (1981)

<sup>b</sup>Gelles & Cornell (1990)

By *family* is meant “members of a household who are related” (Van der Hoven, 1988, p. 34) which may include “a married or unmarried couple, their descendants, the ancestors, descendents or collateral relatives of either and any child as soon as they live together or continue to have relations resulting from prior cohabitation” (European Committee on Crime Problems cited in Browne & Herbert, 1997, p. 5).

*Family violence* is therefore defined as “violent actions perpetrated by members of a family against one another with the intention of inflicting physical or psychological pain on the victim” (Van der Hoven, 1988, p. 34) and for this study it is preferred above the term *domestic violence* which is considered to be a broader definition including members of a household that may or may not be related (Burnett, 1996).

### 3. Theoretical framework

Several perspectives over the past four decades have been developed, giving different explanations for the causes of violence between family members and highlighting the diverse nature of the variables involved in family violence – in Gilbert’s (1994) words “family violence cannot be explained by a single factor and that it is a multifactorial phenomenon” (p. 358). For the purpose of this study ten factors were identified and a situational perspective selected, but should not be considered to be exhaustive.



The *person-environment interactive perspective* (Hollin, 1993) offers three basic criteria for understanding violent behaviour based on the cognitive-behavioral ABC approach:

- The *situation/stressful circumstances* (antecedents) in which the violence occurs (the main aim of this study);
- The *person* in relation to individual thoughts, feelings and actions (behaviour) (a further aim of this study);
- The *impact* of the violent behaviour on the environment (consequences).

In using this perspective, the context in which the violence occurs is considered (situational analysis) as well as the sequence of events that preceded the violent incident (functional analysis). Frude (1989) coined the term “critical incidence” to describe the causal chain of complex interactions between individuals and their social and physical environment that eventually may or may not lead to family violence. The notion of a set profile for perpetrators of violence is not supported by this approach but rather that the dynamics of violence is best represented on a continuum (Frude, 1989; Glanz, 1997) where the difference between an ‘abuser/perpetrator’ and ‘non-abuser/perpetrator’ is their respective position they currently occupy on the “violence continuum”.

A derivative of the *social disorganization* model, which was formulated during the late sixties by Shaw and McKay, is the theory of *relative deprivation*. It asserts that in one’s endeavour to attain culturally prescribed goals amidst certain structural properties (i.e. high poverty rates; unemployment), a sense of injustice arises from a lack of legitimate means to attain these goals and one resorts to violence (Limber & Nation, 1990). *Resource mobilization* theorists (Olivier, 1992; Posel, 1991) on the other hand argue that grievances alone are an insufficient cause for violence and one should consider new competitive opportunities that have been created (i.e. demise of apartheid; scrapping of influx control; access to resources not available to groups previously disadvantaged; and deteriorating economic conditions) which have contributed to violence. Foster (2000b) warns against an uncontested sympathetic portrayal of perpetrators as victims of circumstances, which to some extent, they undoubtedly are. Drawing on the work of Lamb (1996), he distinguishes between healthy and exaggerated *entitlement* and provides a modality for holding perpetrators of violence accountable and responsible for their actions. Such theories shed light on the individual’s response in relation to his/her current circumstances, but also warn against the “considerable dangers of sliding into a soft view ... and colluding with evil” (Foster, 2000a, p. 10, 13).

#### 4. Literature review

In order to ascertain how altered circumstances have influenced the family, especially as it pertains to families in urban areas, a literature review was undertaken over the past two decades. Three points on research on ‘violence in the family’ are noted:

- Until the early eighties family violence rarely featured as a theme of scientific research – in 1982 Colvin stated that “despite evidence from an historical perspective that conflict and violence between family members is not uncommon, academics have



been slow to undertake studies in this field" (p. 3); a similar comment came from Gelles and Straus in 1979 who stated that "violent family members were among the missing persons of family research" (p. 549).

- Reporting on research on family violence in South Africa, Pretorius (1997) highlighted the dearth of empirical research in areas such as sibling violence, family murder, elder abuse, incest, rape within marriage and husband battering. Research that has been conducted focused on the white population and dealt mainly with abuse of women and children (Bollen, Artz, Vetten, & Louw; 1999).
- On the one hand, a research perspective beyond *blame-the-victim/blame-the-villain* is encouraged in order to ensure relevant, unbiased and objective insight given the complexity of this research domain (Pretorius, 1997; Straker, 1989); on the other hand, engaging in research that endeavours to promote basic human rights and affirming its stance against the perpetuation of evil is encouraged (Foster, 2000).

General themes that transpired included:

#### ***4.1 Parental authority and discipline***

Several researchers have argued that parental authority and discipline among the urban black family has weakened (Bester, 1994; Rautenbach & Kellerman, 1990; Steyn, 1993). Some of the major contributing factors are: the disintegration of the primary communal structure (extended and compounded family networks) and with it the diminishing of social control; the increase in single-parent families; and the ever increasing financial demands on parents to support their families and fight poverty, requiring them to be absent or unavailable for longer periods from their children (Bester, 1994; Duncan, 1984; Mullins, 1982; Rautenbach & Kellerman, 1990).

Bester (1994) is of the opinion that parental authority has measurable effect only in those black families who have embraced "a more nuclear-type of western family lifestyle" (p. 104). Nuclear families are considered to have unique characteristics in that they are economically independent and are self-sufficient, their focus is on the child, and they support equality among the sexes (Rautenbach & Kellerman, 1990). When parents fail to properly discipline and control their children, problems such as deviant and intimidating behaviour may follow. In 1986 the Psychological Association of South Africa (PASA) commented on the subsequent impact of "an ill-educated generation of young people" and their actions that "are likely to exacerbate the disintegration of family and community life" (PASA, 1986, p. 6). Bester (1994), supporting this view, stated that black politicized youth, having little regard for parental authority, threaten the establishment of an orderly democracy in South Africa.

It was also posited by Rautenbach et al. (1990) that blacks find themselves in the middle of a transition between two cultures: children and their needs are becoming more the focus of attention in the face of parents' own needs and interests; a growing tendency among blacks to pay more attention to the outward and visible behaviour patterns of their children; an increase in the number of children born out of wedlock; and women-headed households.



## 4.2 Role of women

Much of the writing that considers the role of urbanized and westernized black women in South Africa, is in agreement that they are experiencing emancipation as their authority and decision-making domain continually expands and undergoes restructuring in view of their daily circumstances (Bester, 1994; Rautenbach et al., 1990). Their role as mother and nurturer and emotional leader, has charged them with the responsibility of “maintaining the morale and structure of the family” (Farren, 1989, p. 31). Maforah (1987) contended that black women have moved into the role of normative head, setting norms and standards but also becoming the financial provider and manager of family matters. Simkins (1986) purported that the high incidence of illegitimacy was largely responsible for the increase in the number of female-headed households. Van Zyl (1994) in a study on teenage fertility in South Africa indicated that at least 48% of black women give birth before turning 20; the age-specific fertility rate for black women aged 15-19 is high (i.e. approximately 120 births per 1000 women). However, female-headed households are not a new phenomenon as research dating back to 1971 estimated at the time that over one fifth of Soweto families were headed by females.

Moore (1994) indicated that a shift in the nature of expectations, self-worth and agency has (and is) taking place in the urban areas of many African countries. With women experiencing a bigger demand for their services in the employment sector and subsequently gaining greater economic independence (Ellwood, 1988; Mullins, 1982), their self-worth has been boosted. Women’s choice is becoming more recognized and honoured (Farren, 1989) resulting in women demanding increased recognition of their status and expecting more assistance from men, especially spouses, in the realm of domestic help (Bester, 1994; Rautenbach et al., 1990).

It appears from studying the literature that during times of recession and scarcity of jobs and accommodation, women had to contend with men for the same job and suffer the consequences if elected above their male counterpart (Niehaus, 1994), or risk unpleasant circumstances at home to the degree of physical abuse or seek alternative accommodation (Burman, 1984; Duncan, 1984; Ramphela & Boonzaier, 1988). Women’s gaining greater financial clout has enabled them to escape from unhappy marriages and hence the well documented rise in female-headed households (Bester, 1994; Ellwood, 1988; Mullins, 1982; Rautenbach et al., 1990). However, a report on *Poverty in South Africa* based on the South Africa Living Standards and Development Survey (World Bank report, 1995) indicated that female-headed households have a 50% higher poverty rate than male-headed households; a greater proportion of the poor elderly are women (61%); and that the unemployment rate among women is substantially higher than their male-counterparts (35% vs. 25%).

Dlamini (1987) indicated that although pre-marital pregnancy was unacceptable in traditional society, it did not lead to severe disabilities as it did in western societies as members of the extended family cared for children – Preston-Whyte and Louw (1986) highlighted the indigenous control mechanisms that black people apply in an effort to deal with the problem (i.e. a domestic ritual involving money, two goats and the creation



of functional bonds between the two families). With the collapse of the extended family, illegitimacy among black people has become a cause for concern, as the coming child has to be 'placed' in a social sense (Dlamini, 1987; Preston-Whyte, 1986). The South African legal system, until recently, did not recognize customary marriages amongst blacks and children born out of wedlock had difficulty in qualifying for common-law maintenance. However, since the mid-eighties the South African Law Commission, in collaboration with social scientists and anthropologists, have investigated customary marriages of blacks in order to have it recognized and to make the Matrimonial Property Act (Act 88 of 1984) applicable to blacks (Dlamini, 1987).

The popularity of marriage among urban residence, especially women, is declining for several reasons. Formerly, the governing laws that were in place favoured men to the detriment of women as they could not own/lease property and encountered custody-problems in the event of seeking a divorce (Dlamini, 1987; Moore, 1989; Yawitch, 1984); adding to this, Mullins (1982) noted the structural inequalities in the marriage partnership, the sexual division of labour in the household, and the inability or unwillingness of working class men to live up to their commitment. She concluded by noting that 'the family', as it existed in black townships in 1982, "...is a central site of women's oppression" (p. 40). Yawitch indicated in 1984 that the then stressful demands and emotional responsibilities placed on township families were often exacerbated by one partner (usually the male) who buckled under the pressure and resorted to alcoholism and spousal abuse.

More recently, women abstained from marrying because instead of improving their security by gaining access to resources (as was the case in the past), women have become "vulnerable to the demands of the spouse" (Moore, 1994, p. 141). According to Niehaus (1994) conjugal unions involve some rigid divisions of labour (especially domestic labour), which have become unrealistic given the social constraints of this current milieu. Duncan (1984) indicated that the state of matrimony has no advantage as the newly weds have no place to live together due to overcrowding and the scarcity of accommodation/housing; furthermore, being forced to stay with either the husband's or wife's parents, limits their privacy.

A study conducted by Mullins (1982) of twenty two black women employed in a laundry facility in Johannesburg, underlined the fact that the majority of them lived in the former home of their parents, some with their mothers; the majority had little contact with 'the father' of their children (by choice regarding it as futile or dangerous to their well-being); eleven of them lived in a household headed by a woman - these women were single, divorced or widowed, and were the sole source of income; and eight of the women that were currently widowed or single, indicated that remarriage is not an option.



### ***4.3 Role of men***

The degree of change black men, especially husbands and fathers, are experiencing, according to the literature reviewed, tended to hinge on their ability/inability to secure financial resources. Researchers, Maforah (1987) and Campbell (1994) contended that black men have lost their overall position of authority and being the sole decision-maker because of their inability or unwillingness to share in the financial burdens of the home and the growing power of the youth in the political domain. To expand on men's inability, Moore (1994) purported that research from other parts of Africa has shown that husbands tend to abandon families/households if a net drain on income is encountered or if their income levels are (or become) inadequate. Thus, men in the role of fathers and providers are faced with a level of expectation that goes further than the economic aspect and it involves their self-worth. Therefore, they may refrain from marriage altogether until they feel they can support a family or may father a child knowing that there are support networks [compounded and extended households] in place that can assist the mother and child for the time being.

Mullins (1982) stated that 'working class' men have a poor record in honouring their commitment to their wives and families; according to Maforah (1987) men continue to separate themselves from domestic work and are not involved in the disciplining of the children; they gravitate towards cutting back on financial contributions for the maintenance of the home and household needs where the wives are employed, and would spend time with friends and participate in other leisure activities not involving the family; it is Yawitch's (1984) contention that black women tend to cope better under severe stress and financial difficulty as black men usually resort to alcohol abuse and physical violence towards their spouses.

Bester (1994) posited that, apart from the many other factors negatively impacting marriages and parental authority, the weakening of the primary communal structure could be attributed in part to the absence of the father figure.

### ***4.4 Marriage***

The institution of marriage among blacks has come to experience increased pressure as its former benefits (gaining of status, security and resources) and structural make-up (rigid sexual division of domestic labour, male dominance/patriarchy and laws of marriage favouring men) have come under closer scrutiny and have been found wanting (Campbell, 1996). Furthermore, the close proximity of married couples and their in-laws due to insufficient accommodation, support the plausibility of marriage partners having more in common with their respective parents than with each other individually (Bester, 1994; Reynolds, 1986). Moore (1994) indicated that greater numbers of adults are refraining from marrying. Extrapolating findings of a 1982 Markinor survey about social values in South Africa, Rautenbach et al. (1990) purported that 25% of the black respondents interviewed indicated that marriage per se has become an outmoded institution; of the same study a third supported the idea of extra-marital relationships. This view is supported by Maforah (1987) who stated that the 'open' form of polygamy



has been substituted by extra-marital liaisons where men keep concubines without informing their wives about it.

The following points may constitute grounds for divorce: unsatisfactory sexual relationships with one's partner; infertility; problems with one's in-laws (Rautenbach et al., 1990); emancipation of women and their financial independence (Ellwood, 1988; Mullins, 1982); and the formation of compounded or extended households which contribute to the security of women and children in terms of diet and budgetary issues (Niehaus, 1994).

Given the problems with matrimony, Duncan (1984) stated that alternatively, casual relationships are formed which may partly account for the rise in illegitimate births among the black population.

#### ***4.5 Housing***

It is evident from the literature reviewed that the former government and its state policies such as the Group Areas Act and Influx Control Act, contributed to the disintegration of the black family unit (Burman & Fuchs, 1986).

The establishment of hostels with minimal other urban housing development schemes were clearly not intended to accommodate "the polygamous and extended families of traditional black people" (Bester, 1994, p. 103). It is further the contention of several social scientists that the non-provision of proper accommodation of the primary groups in black society has in part led to the disintegration of the extended family networks and with it the diminishing of social control (Bester, 1994; Duncan, 1984; Mullins, 1982; Rautenbach & Kellerman, 1990). The lack of accommodation in the towns and cities, according to Sachs (1990), was a key element in the former government's agenda to split black families and prevent the establishment of any stable and decent family life. Rautenbach and Kellerman (1990) stated that the former government deliberately kept townships from expanding by restricting the availability of land and, by passing strenuous legislative measures, the government kept over 75% of blacks from owning their own dwellings in the urban areas which in turn affected family stability and growth.

Burman (1984), Duncan (1984), Ramphela and Boonzaier (1988) highlighted the fact that among the working class in South Africa, housing is usually rented and in the past the majority of tenancy agreements were made with the male household head or the person holding a residential permit. Yawitch (1984) purported that this arrangement supported and perpetuated male dominance in acquiring property, which left little choice for women and their children but to remain locked in an unhappy marriage in the face of physical abuse and violence. Duncan (1984) indicated that those on the perimeter of productivity - the elderly, the disabled and children had even less of a chance as any resistance or opposition to the residential head could lead to expulsion.

The following have also been attributed directly or in part to the lack of housing: overcrowding which leads to distorted family relations; the non-existence of privacy;



infighting, distrust and ill-feeling among family members related to the acquisition of tenancy upon the death of a former house owner/tenant (Bester, 1994); the establishment of 'loose-knit associative urban structures' or informal friendship groups as a substitute for extended or compounded family networks - apparently these 'loose-knit' structures do not adequately meet the physical, emotional and economic needs of their members (Mullins, 1982); a rise in casual relationships as newly-weds have no place to live and subsequently, more children born out of wedlock (Duncan, 1984); a resultant affect of housing shortages was the development of slums and informal settlements (Bester, 1994).

When one considers black urban dwellings, it is apparent that these units were designed to accommodate a typical 'nuclear family' - two bedrooms, a kitchen and a living room. Research done in 1976 by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce suggested that the number of people in a four-roomed house in Soweto amounted to fourteen; Keenan (1988) in studying the socio-economic profile of Soweto households over an eight year period, indicated that the mean size of households declined from 8,2 in 1978 to 7,7 in 1980; Duncan (1984) posited that it is not uncommon to find "three or four generations vying with one another for space" (p. 37) in a typical nuclear family unit; and, a study over a two year period [1987-1989] of 136 Alexandra youth [mean age = 19,5 years] concluded that family sizes ranged from three to seventeen persons, the average being six; 28% of the respondents indicated that living space was shared by non-family members; of the 79% of the sample that reportedly lived as a family in their 'own house'; 36% lived in one room, 28% in two rooms and 36% in three or more rooms (excluding the kitchen and bathroom); 15% lived in shacks and six per cent of the respondents lived with other families (Turton, Straker & Moosa, 1991).

Russell (1994) inferred from the 1991 national census that race, ethnicity and culture play a determining role (rather than location) in the distribution and size of black households - 35% of all black urban households had a minimum of six members but so did 43% of all black rural households. From the 1995 World Bank report it is posited that urban or rural blacks have little choice but to live together as the majority of them are poor - 95% of our country's poor are black and 75% of our poor live in rural areas. In addition, many of the poor live in substandard housing; most have no access to piped water, electricity or modern sanitation and hence are exposed to the diseases of poverty.

#### ***4.6 Financial disposition***

According to Rautenbach and Kellerman (1990), and Ndabandaba (1987), greater and continuing exposure to a common economic system has led to the gradual eroding of traditional values and institutions among blacks with the rate of change and direction being determined by the degree of accommodation of the old structures with the new. Ndabandaba (1987) stated "the new money economy has meant a total reorganization in the patterns of life for everybody and a redefinition of the functions of men and women in the families" (p. 34). Manifestation of the changes is attributed to parents virtually shedding all of their parental, family and domestic obligations in order to secure an income and to fight poverty and in the process losing touch with their children because of time constraints and being unavailable for their children. Furthermore, Keenan (1988),



in studying the socio-economic profile of Soweto households from 1978 to 1986, has shown that during times of increasing unemployment accompanied by a recessionary phase in the economy, measures were taken by black urban families to reduce the dependency ratio of households. This usually took on the form of separating the 'unproductive' members - adults over fifty, and children, eleven and under - from their families and parents, and sending them to live elsewhere, usually with kinsmen in the rural areas to ensure that they would have access to the basic necessities of life.

In addition, informal sector activities were initiated (1981-1982) and expanded in order to supplement formal sector income but suffered a severe blow towards the end of 1985 due to the continuing 'unrest' situation [school boycotts and closure; consumer boycotts; transportation problems, and the presence of government troops and riot police]. Households throughout Soweto could no longer sustain their efforts to maintain their material standard of living and the average number of households below the Poverty Datum Line (the level of income or expenditure below which a person is considered to be poor) rose to over the 50 per cent level. Measures employed by households to better their financial position were: cutting back even further on consumption and expenditure; relocate in order to secure better paying jobs; find additional ways to increase the number of people in employment; and try once again to reduce the dependency ratio as a last resort.

Keenan (1988) noted that reducing the dependency ratio encountered limitations as rural areas were faced with similar difficulties and unable to absorb growing "numbers of 'expatriate' urban kin" (p. 43). Keenan (1988) concluded by stating that Soweto households in general have deteriorated significantly due to the financial and economical constraints they had to cope with and their ability to adapt and change have been taxed to the full. The 1995 World Bank report on *Poverty in South Africa* highlighted the fact that nearly 95% of South Africa's poor are Blacks and that their unemployment rate is nearly twice that of Coloureds (38% vs. 21%), and nearly ten times the unemployment rate of Whites (4%).

Discrimination in pay still remains an issue as women and youth generally are paid less compared to the 'family wage' paid to men. According to Mullins (1982), and Segar and White (1992), employers argue that women and adolescents are still 'dependents' of a 'breadwinner' and therefore do not need to earn a 'family wage' in order to support their family. Sachs (1990) highlighted the fact that wages paid to men are not sufficient to support themselves, much less their families. Furthermore, wages are not always equally shared among members of the household (Whitehead, 1981). Segar and White (1992) stressed that women can no longer be considered 'dependents' of male breadwinners and that families are not static in terms of size and needs.



#### ***4.7 View of youth***

It is evident from the majority of literature reviewed that black youth are in turmoil and undergoing rapid change. The view most frequently presented borders on a speculation of the possible effects black youth of South Africa may have experienced after their continuing exposure to civil strife and violence for the past two decades; they have been stigmatized as being a 'lost generation', or 'children of resentment', or 'brutalized children', or 'psychopathic teenagers with anti-social personalities', or 'politicized youth' (Chikane, 1986; Kok & Coetzee, 1994; Hammond-Tooke, 1981). Black youth have also been portrayed to be easily intimidated and led astray by "revolutionaries and radical political elements" - this perspective has been confirmed by Woods (1989) who studied the political upheaval and related violence in the former Natal between Inkatha and UDF supporters and activists – he concluded that among the black township youth he failed to find comprehension of "the ideologies or even the general politics of the organizations they purportedly fight for" (p. 64). It was shown by Woods (1989) that 90% of all violent incidents surveyed in the black urban and peri-urban areas in the former Natal, were perpetrated, but not necessarily instigated, by youths between the ages of 14-25. However, testimonies heard on children and youth at the TRC, indicated that many of the youth involved in Self Defence Units (SDUs) were not "dysfunctional but rather dutiful citizens; far from being a bunch of undisciplined comrades or the lost generation ... SDUs were in many ways the backbone of defence in certain townships" (Foster, 2000, p. 7).

Campbell (1996) reiterated the fact that township youth still value and appreciate the many sacrifices their parents had made for the survival of the family, but have lost respect and defy their parents "as their parents' recipes for living were inappropriate for the demands of modern township life" (p. 207). Reasons why youth view their parents as not competent social guides are lack of education; the rural origins of their parents and hence their relative lack of sophistication; their parents' humble work status due to a lack of proper qualifications; and finally, parents' earlier passive acceptance of subjugation and discrimination (Campbell, 1996).

Participation in a political organization or emergent youth gang, according to Woods (1989), gives township youth a sense of belonging and possibly "fulfill the lack of purpose these youth experience in their lives" (p. 65). Moore (1994) is of the opinion that young men gravitate towards active masculinity in terms of joining gang activities and becoming obstinate towards their parents and elders in an effort to exert their dominance and control as an individual and in the process gain respect and authority. However, this show of masculinity does not resolve their crisis as they still lack community status in the end.

Positive changes black children are experiencing include the participation in major decisions and activities of the family and society as a whole; more freedom of choice in terms of communicating more freely with their parents especially where the education level of parents is higher (Maforah, 1987); and exercising their right to choose their own marriage partners (Rautenbach et al., 1990).



#### 4.8 Education

The socializing and role appropriation of children were formally the responsibility of the whole community and the family unit, but have now been replaced by educational institutions such as schools and nurseries (Maforah, 1987). An earlier study on the influence of social problems on the achievement level of school pupils in Soweto reported that home conditions and social contact had a greater influence on achievement than formal learning at school (Matseke, 1984). The embedding of values among youth, according to Bester (1994), is channeled through the formal education system but with a difference. Instead of socializing the youth to consider and live for the demands of the collective (the kinship group), a shift towards the recognition of the individual's right in achieving his/her personal desires and aspirations is occurring; in addition, there is also a strong emphasis on the equality of status between boys and girls. Since the 1970's a similar shift in orientation amongst kibbutz youth can be deduced, especially in the realm of placing one's own objectives and individual ambitions above those of the collective and public considerations (Kaffman, 1993).

Education and skills training during the *Apartheid* era were inaccessible to most of the population creating inequality in access to jobs, services and economic resources thus leading to poverty. The 1995 report on *Poverty in South Africa* indicated that less than 30% of poor working-age adults are actually working due to illness, disability, domestic duties, or catching-up with education. Poverty in South Africa also has a strong age dimension as over 45% of the poor, are children below 16 years old (World Bank report, 1995).

The literature considered, tie in well with the *antecedent*-component of Hollin's theory (1993) in that it highlighted the circumstances of black families. The other component of the theory stresses the individual's behaviour as related to his/her circumstances. The main purpose of this study was to investigate the individual's behaviour in terms of a particular conflict tactic employed in the face of his/her circumstances.

### 5. Method

#### 5.1 Measuring instruments

From the eight themes identified, several circumstantial factors about the living conditions of black families surfaced - some more regularly than others - which were used to draw up a list of variables. To do concrete measurements/operations on the factors (possibly) present in a community, dichotomous variables were chosen. A semi-structured questionnaire (Addendum A) was composed with the following ten variables:

- Education – overall level of education in family
- Income distribution – total income per month; who supports who?; budget decisions
- Unemployment – how long unemployed?; ratio of male vs. female
- Marital status – single, married, divorced?; domestic labour distribution
- Number of children born out of wedlock – who takes care of them?; father present?



- Residence density – number of occupants; privacy issues; individual vs. community
- Dependency ratio – number of mouths to feed vs. able bodies to generate income
- Problems in school – truancy; standards failed; expulsions
- Exposure to Westernized/economical system – period exposed; mode of transport
- Occupational challenges – time demands; contact with immediate family; holidays

As far as could be determined, no locally developed research instrument to measure conflict in the family, currently exists in South Africa. The choice in using the standard **Conflict Tactic Scales (CTS)**, as developed by Straus in 1979 and updated in 1990, depended upon its versatility and adaptability to particular relationships (i.e. parent-child; child-parent; spouse-spouse; sibling-sibling); its ability to measure behaviour and tactics used in response to a conflict or anger situation during a said period (i.e. previous 12 months); and, that it only requires a 6<sup>th</sup>-grade (USA) reading ability (Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy & Sugarman, 1996).

The CTS has had a wide application since its inception in 1979 involving over 70 000 participants from diverse backgrounds, including African Americans (DuRant, Cadenhead, Pendergrast, Slavens, & Linder, 1994; Hampton, Gelles, & Harrop, 1989), Hispanic Americans (Kaufman, Jasinski, & Aldarondo, 1994), and two National Family Violence surveys in 1975 and 1985 in the USA (Straus, 1979, 1990). There are over 20 countries that have used the CTS successfully – they include Spain (Hinshaw & Forbes, 1993), India and Japan (Kumagai & Straus, 1983), Hong Kong (Tang, 1994) and Israel (Eisikovits, Guttman, Sela-Amit, & Edleson, 1993).

The CTS is a 62-item (excluding sexual coercion) scale that measures the extent of specific tactics in a conflict situation. The CTS measures the behaviour of both the respondent and the respondents' partner. There are five subscales present in the revised CTS – negotiation, psychological aggression, physical assault, sexual coercion and injury – sexual coercion was dropped for this study as three of the relationships investigated had to do with parents and children, and it also allowed for uniform comparison between the various relationships. The CTS was adapted for each relationship in question (see (Addendum B.1 – B.4)

Scoring of the prevalence rates of the response categories was done by adding the midpoints for each one as chosen by the participant. The midpoints are the same as the response category numbers for *categories* 0,1, and 2. For *category* 3 (3-5 times) the midpoint is 4, for *category* 4 (6-10 times) it is 8, for *category* 5 (11-20 times) it is 15, and for *category* 6 (more than 20 times in the past year) Straus (1990) recommended using 25 as a midpoint. *Category* 7 was used to show scores for the previous year (yes = 1; no = 0).

## 5.2 *Sampling and procedure*

Nomzamo, an informal residential area in the Helderberg basin adjacent to the N2, was selected as it is representative of the living conditions of over a third of the poor people in South Africa (World Bank report, 1995). It currently has an approximate membership of 26 000 with the majority of residents Xhosa speaking interspersed with a few coloured



people, the majority of them speaking Afrikaans. The zoning of the area allows for the “erection of a shelter and/or a dwelling house on a property, which can incorporate both informal and formal housing” – at present there are 1400 formal dwellings and 1200 shelters with an occupancy rate of between five to eight people per ‘dwelling’ (J van Wyk, 2000, p. 2). The area also houses a community center, a day clinic, a taxi rank, several day care centers, a primary school as well as little shops and pavement stalls.

A local resident, Xolani (Maurice) Njobo (28) was approached, as he is the Helderberg Council’s liaison for rent and amenity payments. He is currently involved in obtaining a tertiary qualification studying part-time. He is well respected in the community and he speaks Xhosa, English and Afrikaans fluently. Three 1-hour sessions were used to familiarize the fieldworker with the sampling procedure and administration of the various questionnaires.

Nomzamo is divided into five wards and well known to Mr Njobo. A ‘purposive’ sampling method was used and Mr Njobo was instrumental in helping the writer to identify the families that were involved in the study. In total, fifty families were included in the sample; ten families per ward; two members per family of which one needed to be a parent, the other a child of the parent between 12 and 17 years old. Six questionnaires were administered; three per subject sampled – two measured the most predominant conflict tactic/s employed during the past year (from that member’s perspective) in the family, the other one the impact of circumstantial factors on that family member. Administration of the questionnaires was in English but in several of the instances the fieldworker had to repeat/explain some of the questions in Xhosa or Afrikaans; the subjects’ responses, whether in their mother tongue, were recorded in English. The average time taken to complete the full complement of questionnaires per family was between 1.5 - 2 hours; in some instances one of the members was absent and the fieldworker/researcher had to return at a more opportune time.

## 6. Results

By using the standard number of items of the Conflict Tactic Scales (CTS) to measure the predominant conflict tactic/s employed among family members, varying Alpha-coefficients were obtained. This posed a problem for further calculations as the internal consistency reliability of the subscales were at stake. The optimization of the internal consistency of the items posed a challenge, as the diversity of the content of the items inadvertently became less thereby threatening the overall validity of the measuring instrument. Considering the validity – reliability relationship, Grinnell (1993) stressed that “there cannot be validity without reliability, but there can be reliability without validity” (p. 192). Given the instruments initial construct and discriminant validity (Straus et al., 1996), the remainder of items for each group’s subscale was investigated and found functional to be employed for all other results.

The following abbreviations for the four subscales of the CTS will be used to save space and to avoid cumbersome repetition: Negotiation = 1; Psychological Aggression = 2; Physical Assault = 3, Injury = 4.



Table 2

Optimization of Alpha-coefficient

Relationship	Subscales	Standard no. of items	Alpha-coef.	No of items remaining	Alpha-coef
Spouse	1	12	0.8412	9	0.8466
	2	14	0.7544	12	0.7694
	3	24	0.7834	6	0.9341
	4	12	0.5703	2	0.9074
Parent-child	1	12	0.6604	6	0.7279
	2	14	0.5464	8	0.7143
	3	24	0.5073	2	0.7103
	4	12	-0.0222	2	0.8889
Child-parent	1	12	0.5188	3	0.7556
	2	14	0.6659	6	0.7785
	3	24	0.6682	4	0.8032
	4	12	0.2159	5	0.2514
Siblings	1	12	0.7644	8	0.8081
	2	14	0.8186	8	0.8411
	3	24	0.7375	9	0.8324
	4	12	0.1474	2	0.9261

<sup>a</sup>Subscales with an  $\alpha$ -coefficient  $< 0.7$ , were left out of further calculations.

In order to gauge the respondents' responses to conflict occurrences, given the remainder of items per group's subscale, maximum and minimum values were computed and are represented in Table 3.

Table 3

Conflict Tactic Frequency Response Level

Subscales	No. of items	Range	Actual Freq Response		<u>M</u>	<sup>a</sup> %
			Min	Max		
1						
Spouse*	9	0-225	0	225	83.43	37%
Parent-child*	6	0-150	20	150	91.84	61%
Child-parent	3	0-75	0	75	25.42	34%
Siblings	8	0-200	1	200	57.52	29%
2						
Spouse	12	0-300	0	258	77.46	26%
Parent-child*	8	0-200	2	165	64.00	32%
Child-parent	6	0-150	0	140	52.47	35%
Siblings	8	0-200	0	190	93.24	47%
3						
Spouse*	6	0-150	0	140	9.29	6%
Parent-child*	2	0-50	0	50	15.06	30%
Child-parent	4	0-100	0	90	30.22	30%
Siblings	9	0-225	0	205	55.84	25%
4						
Spouse*	2	0-50	0	50	4.48	9%
Parent-child*	2	0-50	0	6	12	24%
<sup>b</sup> Child-parent	5	0-125	-	-	-	-
Siblings	2	0-50	0	40	1.08	2%

Note. Sample size for each group was N = 50, except those marked with an \*N = 49, and †N = 48.

<sup>a</sup>Mean values as expressed out of 100%.

<sup>b</sup>Child-parent calculations as pertaining to Injury not computed as  $\alpha < 0.7$ .



As a rule, parents used negotiation to resolve conflict between themselves and their children (61%), whereas psychological aggression was the more popular choice for siblings (47%). Physical assault and injury scored relatively low among spouses (6% and 9% respectively) as a measure to resolve a conflict, but about a third of the parents questioned, employed physical assault in a conflict situation with their children – 24% resulted in injury.

### ***6.1 Educational level***

Parents in general emphasized that education for their children is of primary importance for future success in today's competitive market. Ten of the parents had matric, 23 had an educational level of between Grade 8 and Grade 11 – only two parents had no schooling. In terms of their own level of education, 68% of the parents interviewed (N = 50), indicated that their views on discipline have not changed compared to how their parents disciplined them. The income level, age and gender of each respondent was cross-tabulated with level of education and no significant difference was found given changes in views on how to discipline children.

An analysis of variance between the highest grade passed by a parent and the conflict tactic employed towards his/her spouse and child, was explored.

Table 4

Level of education as a function of conflict tactic employed towards spouses and children

Level of education	n	Conflict Tactic Employed			
		1	2	3	4
Spouse					
None/Grade 1 or 2	7				
<u>M</u>		119.14	82.57	2.14	2.29
<u>SD</u>		63.85	59.59	3.67	3.15
Grade 3 to Grade 7	8				
<u>M</u>		84.50	66.63	9.62	5.67
<u>SD</u>		68.21	42.60	9.90	9.67
Grade 8 to Grade 11	23				
<u>M</u>		78.00	67.43	3.35	2.87
<u>SD</u>		57.47	46.54	10.76	10.38
Grade 12	10				
<u>M</u>		67.30	113.00	28.60	9.10
<u>SD</u>		38.46	75.36	47.46	12.79
<hr/>					
<u>F</u>		1.25	1.67	3.05	1.03
<u>p</u>		0.30	0.19	0.04*	0.39
<hr/>					
Parent-child					
None/Grade 1 or 2	7				
<u>M</u>		102.14	71.57	16.43	-
<u>SD</u>		37.23	55.84	19.16	-
Grade 3 to Grade 7	9				
<u>M</u>		112.00	46.89	11.22	-
<u>SD</u>		27.39	35.98	15.79	-
Grade 8 to Grade 11	23				
<u>M</u>		86.65	67.00	16.39	-
<u>SD</u>		32.08	39.80	13.29	-
Grade 12	10				
<u>M</u>		77.10	68.50	13.70	-
<u>SD</u>		33.50	31.53	12.45	-
<hr/>					
<u>F</u>		2.14	0.71	0.32	-
<u>p</u>		0.11	0.55	0.81	-

\*p &lt; 0.05



Table 4 revealed that physical assault as a means to resolve conflict occurred significantly more among those spouses with the highest qualifications [ $F(3, 44) = 3.046$ ,  $p < .05$ ]. The  $SD$ -value was in several instances greater than its corresponding  $M$ -value in the physical assault- and injury-category pertaining to conflict tactics employed by spouses – this can be attributed to the small sample size per category and the varying differences in responses given by the individuals questioned.

## **6.2    *Income and unemployment***

Income distribution among the sample varied from R450 pm to R7 000 pm ( $N = 48$ ) with 25% of the respondents earning less than R2 000 pm; 23% earning more than R4 000 pm and the remaining 52% having an income between R2 000 – R4 000 pm. Unemployment was not a factor as 94% of the respondents ( $N = 50$ ) indicated that they were employed during the last six months.

To determine whether the level of income would have an impact on the conflict tactic employed by respondents, as it pertains to their spouses and children, an analysis of variance was conducted.

Table 5

**Income as a function of conflict tactic employed towards spouses, parents and children, and siblings**

Income	n	Conflict Tactic Employed			
		1	2	3	4
Spouses					
Less than R2000	12				
M		111.00	75.36	6.27	3.42
SD		58.30	48.87	15.25	8.50
R2001 - R3000	18				
M		88.39	60.78	7.78	1.61
SD		53.50	58.79	21.05	3.84
R3001 - R4000	7				
M		64.86	96.00	5.71	3.71
SD		58.61	42.79	7.34	3.90
More than R4000	11				
M		55.00	105.60	16.82	11.55
SD		55.98	58.15	41.60	17.63
F		2.14	1.72	0.45	2.47
p		0.11	0.18	0.72	0.08
Parent-child					
Less than R2000	12				
M		102.45	65.58	19.08	-
SD		26.86	48.40	18.95	-
R2001 - R3000	18				
M		94.06	55.56	10.00	-
SD		36.01	40.77	12.56	-
R3001 - R4000	7				
M		88.29	77.67	17.71	-
SD		29.34	29.01	5.59	-
More than R4000	11				
M		75.82	72.45	17.36	-
SD		37.82	35.00	14.22	-
F		1.24	0.65	1.27	-
p		0.31	0.59	0.30	-



Table 5 (continued)

Income as a function of conflict tactic employed towards spouses  
parents and children, and siblings

Income	n	Conflict Tactic Employed			
		1	2	3	4
Child-parent					
Less than R2000	12				
<u>M</u>		25.33	47.50	30.42	-
<u>SD</u>		25.17	41.10	27.42	-
R2001 - R3000	18				
<u>M</u>		33.50	44.29	24.28	-
<u>SD</u>		24.46	37.14	25.39	-
R3001 - R4000	7				
<u>M</u>		17.57	65.00	43.29	-
<u>SD</u>		12.90	42.86	20.21	-
More than R4000	11				
<u>M</u>		20.45	65.73	33.55	-
<u>SD</u>		11.86	25.24	24.99	-
<hr/>					
<u>F</u>		1.39	1.10	1.02	-
<u>p</u>		0.26	0.36	0.39	-
<hr/>					
Siblings					
Less than R2000	12				
<u>M</u>		64.17	105.83	53.58	-
<u>SD</u>		37.10	53.21	56.81	-
R2001 - R3000	18				
<u>M</u>		69.67	80.17	48.22	-
<u>SD</u>		48.29	62.69	42.88	-
R3001 - R4000	7				
<u>M</u>		37.71	103.57	75.29	-
<u>SD</u>		52.85	54.09	43.30	-
More than R4000	11				
<u>M</u>		45.27	98.64	62.64	-
<u>SD</u>		31.40	32.63	28.86	-
<hr/>					
<u>F</u>		1.36	0.70	0.72	-
<u>p</u>		0.27	0.56	0.55	-

No significant relationship was confirmed in Table 5 between the income level of parents and the conflict tactic generally used to resolve conflict. A similar trend concerning the SD-value pertaining to spouses in Table 4, was also noted in Table 5.

### **6.3 *Illegitimate children***

From the sample of 50 parents, 7 indicated that they have children out of wedlock which only constitutes about 14%. The majority of parents (88%) further indicated that youth do not have the freedom to decide whether to engage in sexual relations or not.

### **6.4 *Marital status***

Thirty-five of the adult respondents interviewed, were married; 9 were single, 4 divorced and 2 refrained from responding. An analysis of variance was conducted to explore whether one's status as being single, married or divorced would influence the conflict tactic employed.



Table 6

Marital status as a function of conflict tactic employed towards spouses (ex-spouses or friends) and children

Marital status	n	Conflict Tactic Employed			
		1	2	3	4
Spouse					
Single	9				
<u>M</u>		72.50	48.88	7.13	4.78
<u>SD</u>		46.62	30.57	7.34	9.98
Married	35				
<u>M</u>		90.14	85.38	11.37	3.74
<u>SD</u>		57.42	57.24	28.43	7.67
Divorced	4				
<u>M</u>		37.50	82.25	-	3.71
<u>SD</u>		75.00	77.42	25.00	3.90
<u>F</u>		1.67	1.41	0.42	1.33
<u>p</u>		0.20	0.26	0.66	0.28
Parent - Child					
Single	9				
<u>M</u>		85.75	52.11	12.11	-
<u>SD</u>		46.62	40.21	27.42	-
Married	35				
<u>M</u>		94.00	66.62	15.74	-
<u>SD</u>		57.42	32.21	42.11	-
Divorced	4				
<u>M</u>		86.00	76.50	15.50	-
<u>SD</u>		38.89	50.22	10.85	-
<u>F</u>		0.26	0.23	0.64	-
<u>p</u>		0.78	0.80	0.53	-

The results from Table 6 indicated general tendencies but no confirmed significance. Once again in several instances, the SD-value was greater than its corresponding M-value as related to responses given by spouses in terms of physical assault and injury.

### **6.5     *Residential density***

The number of people per household varied from 2 to 13; eighteen households had between 2 and 4 people; the majority of households ( $n = 22$ ) had between 5 and 8 people and nine households had between 9 and 13 members living under one roof. A variance analysis of conflict tactic employed versus the number of people in the dwelling was done with regards to the husband-wife and parent-child relationship.



Table 7

Number of people in dwelling as a function of conflict tactic employed towards spouses and children

People in dwelling	n	Conflict Tactic Employed			
		1	2	3	4
Spouse					
Two - Four	18				
<u>M</u>		99.82	57.94	6.65	2.67
<u>SD</u>		70.69	45.64	13.29	7.25
Five - Eight	22				
<u>M</u>		69.50	88.90	13.91	4.95
<u>SD</u>		43.41	83.74	34.07	9.41
Nine - Thirteen	9				
<u>M</u>		85.56	90.00	4.00	7.44
<u>SD</u>		58.63	47.01	7.40	16.10
<u>F</u>		1.36	1.77	0.68	0.68
<u>p</u>		0.27	0.18	0.51	0.51
Parent - Child					
Two - Four	18				
<u>M</u>		92.71	58.61	12.50	-
<u>SD</u>		38.42	37.62	15.11	-
Five - Eight	22				
<u>M</u>		85.64	67.64	16.64	-
<u>SD</u>		32.62	42.31	15.37	-
Nine - Thirteen	9				
<u>M</u>		109.44	68.88	17.00	-
<u>SD</u>		20.07	40.86	9.01	-
<u>F</u>		1.66	0.31	0.49	-
<u>p</u>		0.20	0.74	0.62	-

Several trends were observed in Table 7, but none of these trends were significant. However, as in Tables 4-6, a similar occurrence pertaining to spouses and their responses to physical assault and injury was noted.

### **6.6 Problems in school**

It was reported that 80% of the school-going children have not repeated any school year up to this point.

### **6.7 Exposure to Westernized/economical system**

If one considers the role of initiation as a part of the urban black's heritage, 66% indicated that they have not been initiated – this might be misleading as the majority of 'no'-candidates were women. Table 8 gives a synopsis of the male/female ratio involved.

Table 8

#### Cross-tabulation of initiation versus gender (N = 50)

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Initiated	Yes	13	4	17
	No	5	28	33
Total		18	32	50

The composition of frequencies in the 2 x 2 matrix did not prove to be significant on a Chi-square test [ $X^2 (1, N = 50) = 18.311, p < 0.000$ ] as the minimum expectant count was less than 5. Further calculations, using a Mann-Whitney test, failed to show that any significant relationship existed between the conflict tactic employed and the specific relationship in question (i.e. spouse or parent-child).

### **6.8 Occupational challenges**

Given the time constraints in the family's life, both the parents and children were asked to respond to the question on whether they do things together as a family, whether parents spend time with their children and, whether members of the family have lost touch with one another. Forty percent of the parents indicate that they do not do things together as a family; a more even distribution was found among the children – 48% indicated that their parents do not spend time with them. However, 72% of the respondents indicated that they have not lost touch with one another. T-tests were conducted to determine the significance, if any, of the conflict tactics employed. Results for the question on "having lost touch" are shown.



Table 9

'Having lost touch' as a function of the conflict tactic employed towards spouses, parents and children, and siblings

Having lost touch	Yes:	Conflict tactic used				No:	Conflict tactic used			
		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4
		Spouse ( $n = 14$ )					Spouse ( $n = 36$ )			
<u>M</u>		78.93	62.93	2.86	1.79		85.23	83.44	11.86	5.53
<u>SD</u>		55.60	41.24	5.59	2.64		58.26	59.56	28.36	11.66
<u>t</u>		0.35	1.17	1.17	1.18					
<u>p</u>		0.73	0.25	0.25	0.24					
		Parent - child ( $n = 14$ )					Parent - child ( $n = 36$ )			
<u>M</u>		90.50	59.15	14.71	-		92.37	65.75	15.19	-
<u>SD</u>		33.87	35.62	10.20	-		33.97	41.12	15.48	-
<u>t</u>		0.17	0.51	0.11	-					
<u>p</u>		0.86	0.61	0.92	-					
		Child - parent ( $n = 14$ )					Child - parent ( $n = 36$ )			
<u>M</u>		21.36	49.93	27.86	-		27.00	53.49	31.14	-
<u>SD</u>		21.06	39.73	21.83	-		21.43	35.61	26.33	-
<u>t</u>		0.84	0.31	0.41	-					
<u>p</u>		0.41	0.76	0.68	-					
		Sibling ( $n = 14$ )					Sibling ( $n = 36$ )			
<u>M</u>		54.14	77.71	44.29	-		58.83	99.28	60.33	-
<u>SD</u>		50.01	59.96	42.70	-		40.20	50.16	43.26	-
<u>t</u>		0.35	1.29	1.18	-					
<u>p</u>		0.73	0.20	0.24	-					

Table 9 showed that no significant relationship could be found between the conflict tactic employed and the four relationships portrayed.

## 7. Discussion and limitations

One of the aims of the study was to explore whether a relationship exists between circumstantial factors and conflict tactics employed by families in a black township. The majority of the results showed no significant relationship between any of the circumstantial factors and the conflict tactics measured, indicating that the null hypothesis was not rejected. This can possibly be accounted for by the following:

- Sample size – only 50 families (2 members per household) were involved out of an estimated population of 26 000 living in Nomzamo.
- Initial low alpha-coefficients in Table 2 (p. 16) challenged the reliability of the items and their correlation with one another – this is in contrast to the finding of Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy and Sugarman (1996) who commented on the revised Conflict Tactics Scale and reaffirmed the instrument's strong evidence of validity and reliability.

During data gathering it was clear that some of the questionnaire statements that had to do with physical assault or injury, especially as it pertained to the parent-child/child-parent relationship, were culturally unacceptable/insensitive (i.e. I slapped my father/mother; I kicked my father/mother) – some of the respondents, parents and children alike, were visibly shocked when asked to respond to these statements. Inconsistency in responses have contributed to excluding a sizeable amount of items in each of the subscales (i.e. initially 24 physical assault items scaled down to 2 items in parent-child relationship) to improve the alpha-coefficient to above 0.7 which inadvertently has led to under-representation of the subscale and lending a disproportionate weight to the remaining items. The trend that occurred in Tables 4-7 pertaining to spouses' responses to physical assault and injury could possibly be accounted for by this under-representation as well as the small sample size.

- In 1997, Viljoen stated that any attempt to probe the occurrence of abuse (in any form) in the family, remains difficult and a challenge because of "...the myth of family bliss and security" and "...ideas of peace and security and harmony [that] are still so strongly associated with the institution of the family" (p.15). Dobash and Dobash (1979) echoed a similar sentiment 18 years earlier:

It is almost as though we have averted our eyes from violence in the family because we do not want it to happen and believe that it should not happen. When forced to acknowledge its existence, we attempt to deny that it is widespread or severe or that it happens between 'normal people'... Such is the strength of the myth of family bliss and of the desire to preserve it.  
(p.7-8)

Referring to the crime statistics given earlier, it appears as if a discrepancy exists between offences reported to the S.A. Police and respondents' (spouses in particular) perspective on physical assault (6%) and injury (9%) in the household



(Table 3, p. 17) and thus negating one of the further aims of this study (i.e. from the results of this study Nomzamo could be regarded as a low crime locality). It should be kept in mind that crime reporting usually involves individuals not representing entire households. Furthermore, domestic (family) violence is not codified in South African law as a separate criminal offence, but is usually described under the heading of assault or assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. A study done by Bollen, Artz, Vetten, and Louw in 1999 on 'Violence against women in metropolitan South Africa' highlighted the fact that domestic violence is a common phenomenon and that the majority of domestic violence and rape are not reported to the police.

The only significant relationship that was obtained was between the conflict tactic, physical assault, and spouses' level of education. The respondents that had a matric qualification more readily would indicate if physical assault were used as a conflict tactic (during the last year) than any of the other respondents with lower qualifications. The 1995 World Bank report on *Key indicators of poverty in Sough Africa* indicated that educational attainment for the urban poor varied between 8% (those who have completed secondary schooling and beyond) and 51% (those who have completed primary schooling, but not secondary schooling). Respondents from the sample compared favourably in terms of having completed secondary schooling (20%), but came out lower on 46% in terms of incomplete secondary education. Therefore, this study highlighted the fact that education is one of the key components in changing belief systems, raising people's awareness and helping them to speak out against violence. On the other hand, the possibility of one member in a relationship having had more formal education than the other, may be threatening to the other member who may revert to physical assault as a way to exert authority

Another aim of this study was to consider differences between parents and children with regards to choice of conflict tactic employed. Parents used negotiation in 61% of the cases to resolve conflict with their children, where children used it only in 34% of the cases; no percentage was calculated for children using injury-to-parents as a conflict tactic ( $\alpha < 0.7$ ) as both parents and children could not identify with it, but a different perspective prevailed among some of the parents as it pertained to the conflict tactics physical assault and injury (Table 3, p. 17). Henderson (1996) in a study on corporal punishment in New Crossroads over a three-year period (1992 - 1994) found that "disciplining a child has to a large extent become synonymous with the physical act" (p. 70) which corresponds to over a third of the parents in Nomzamo and the conflict tactic they employed. Contrary to the view that the authority of parents and disciplining of their children has weakened (Bester, 1994; Rautenbach & Kellerman, 1990; Steyn, 1993), 24% of parents in this study have caused injury to their children in the process of dealing with conflict during the last year. Henderson (1996) raised the point that children, in their comments about the cruelty of their parents pertaining to discipline, become obstinate and defy parents' attempts to control their behaviour. What parents hope to retain – their children's respect – they eventually lose.



The 'Household Subsistence Level (HSL)' is defined as the minimum level of welfare required by a family of 2 adults and 3 children and was specified in 1997 for low-income groups between R1150 and R1255 per month (Potgieter, 1997). Using this figure as a reference, only 6 households in the sample had an income below R1255 per month. Given that the 1995 World Bank report indicated that 38% of blacks were then unemployed, the respondents in this sample have improved their position since then, as only 6% were unemployed during the last six months.

Although the literature reviewed, stressed that marriage as an institution has become outmoded, 70% of the respondents in this study were married. The possibility of children born out of wedlock is also minimized by this fact and hence the low percentage of 14% of illegitimate births. This finding can possibly be attributed to the sampling method (purposive) that was employed.

The average number of people per household for the majority of the sample ( $N = 22$ ) was six, which corresponded with the number of members usually found in a household in the rural area in 1995 (World Bank report, 1995). Hence, the lower figure of 35% of urban households having six members in 1995, have steadily grown to almost 10% during the last 5 years.

## 8. Conclusion

Even though almost no direct relationship could be established between circumstantial factors and conflict tactics usually employed by a sample of families ( $N=50$ ) in Nomzamo in the Helderberg basin - Western Cape, the study highlighted the following:

When embarking on a research terrain such as the 'family and conflict' in South Africa, consideration should be given to be culturally sensitive to a greater degree and not to lose sight that the family is still regarded as a protected entity in terms of empirical research and scrutiny. A further consideration is to use a qualitative approach as this topic appears not to be readily accessible through empirical and quantitative methods - the rationale of indiscriminately employing a measuring instrument (CTS) that has been developed in the Western world, even though tried and tested internationally, did not prove to be successful as it was unable to access conflict tactics with high reliability. The legacy of male-dominance and male-subjugation cannot be disregarded in view of the fact that the majority of the respondents were female and both the researcher and fieldworker were male; furthermore, the fieldworker is a resident of Nomzamo and familiar to several of the families interviewed, and he played a key role in the sampling process.

Another consideration is consciousness-raising and heightened understanding through education as this proved to have a significant bearing in challenging the status quo and changing attitudes in terms of physical assault in the home.



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Ward # \_\_\_\_\_ Surname: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Family # \_\_\_\_\_ Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_  
 Subject # \_\_\_\_\_ Key: \* - Questions to ask the children between 12 – 17 years.

## STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE

### Education Level

To preserve the family as you know it, do you believe that your children should be educated beyond your own level? Please explain : \_\_\_\_\_

What is your highest standard passed? \_\_\_\_\_ Any other qualifications? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Reason for leaving school? \_\_\_\_\_  
 How do you view education? \_\_\_\_\_

What is your view on discipline? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Given your education level, do you believe your views on discipline have changed compared to those of your parents? Yes ☐ No ☐ Please explain : \_\_\_\_\_

What proportion of the household income is spent on schooling for the children? \_\_\_\_\_  
 How will your child benefit from education? \_\_\_\_\_  
 How will you benefit from your child's education? \_\_\_\_\_

### Income

What is this domestic unit's monthly budget?

Expenses		Income	
Accommodation	Church	Salary	
Water & Lights	School Fees	Other	
Food & Liquor	HP Accounts		
Travelling Costs	Clothing	Sub Total (3)	
Medical Costs	Other	Minus (1 + 2)	
Sub Total (1)	Sub Total (2)	Surplus/Deficit	



Who is the main breadwinner(s) in your family? \_\_\_\_\_

Is this person(s) able to provide financial support at the moment? Yes ☐ No ☐

Please explain \_\_\_\_\_

How would you describe financial responsibility? \_\_\_\_\_

Does anyone else in your household share these views? Yes ☐ No ☐ Please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

If not, does this lead to arguments? \_\_\_\_\_

What do you understand under the term *financially independent*? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_. Do you consider yourself as financially independent? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you receive a monthly allowance (pocket money)? Yes ☐ No ☐

If Yes, are you required to do anything in exchange? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you hold a part-time job and hence contribute to the family income? Yes ☐ No ☐

If Yes, please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

## employment

During the last six months, were you unemployed? Yes ☐ No ☐

If Yes, please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

What was the reason for you losing/leaving your work? \_\_\_\_\_

In your line of work, has it become more competitive/difficult to find a job? Yes ☐ No ☐

If Yes, what would be the reason for this?: \_\_\_\_\_

During times of unemployment, what measures do you take to alleviate the lack of funds? \_\_\_\_\_

Has a shift occurred in terms of the responsibility/position you hold in your household since you

have become unemployed? Yes ☐ No ☐ please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

## Marital Status

What is your marital status? Single ☐ Married ☐ Divorced ☐

### Single

- \* Do you intend to marry in the future? Yes ☐ No ☐ Please explain: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \* How do you see your role as a man/woman in a marriage relationship? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \* Would you be able to choose your own partner? Yes ☐ No ☐ Please explain: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \* If Yes, is it any different compared to what your parents were allowed to do? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \* What emphasis do you place on household duties, whose task is it? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \* and other family obligations (i.e. rearing and disciplining of children, providing an income, etc.)? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

### Married

- \* Is this your first marriage? Yes ☐ No ☐
- \* How long have you been married? \_\_\_\_\_
- \* Are you married under: civil law ☐ customary law ☐ common law ☐ ?
- \* Who disciplines the children/you? \_\_\_\_\_
- \* Who is responsible for making decisions pertaining to budgetary spending? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_, and unacceptable behaviour in your household? \_\_\_\_\_
- \* What emphasis do you place on household duties, whose task is it? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \* and other family obligations (i.e. rearing and disciplining of children, providing an income, etc.)? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \* What role do husbands/fathers play in maintaining the family? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \* What role do wives/mothers play in maintaining the family? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



**Divorced/Separated**

How long have you/your parents been separated? \_\_\_\_\_

What is the most important reason in your view for the divorce/separation? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you consider remarriage in the near future? Yes ☐ No ☐ If Yes, what would be your  
motivation/consideration for doing so? \_\_\_\_\_

If No, please explain : \_\_\_\_\_

How has this divorce/separation affected your children/you in terms of disciplining? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_, schooling? \_\_\_\_\_

Respect towards you/your parents? \_\_\_\_\_

Who disciplines the children/you? \_\_\_\_\_

Who is responsible for making decision pertaining to budgetary spending? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_, domestic labour? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_, and unacceptable behaviour in your household? \_\_\_\_\_

and other family obligations (i.e. rearing and disciplining of children, providing an income, etc.)? \_\_\_\_\_

Does less paternal (father) involvement lead to increased family disorganization/conflict in the  
household? Yes ☐ No ☐ Please explain : \_\_\_\_\_

When in conflict, do you (as well as the opposing party) seek outcomes that are mutually  
beneficial to both of you? \_\_\_\_\_

**Illegitimate children**

Do you have any children born out of wedlock? Yes ☐ No ☐

Was there any particular reason/circumstance for having a child/children out of wedlock?

Please explain : \_\_\_\_\_

If you could reverse the clock, would you have chosen a different outcome? \_\_\_\_\_

- \* Did you receive any financial assistance from the father/mother of your children? Please explain \_\_\_\_\_
- \* What custody arrangements are in place? \_\_\_\_\_
- \* How many members of your immediate family have children that were born out of wedlock? \_\_\_\_
- \* Were these members also born out of wedlock? Yes ☐ No ☐
- \* Were your parents married (civil, customary, common law) at the time of your birth?  
Yes ☐ No ☐ Please explain : \_\_\_\_\_
- \* What are your views with reference to sexuality and love relationships? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \* In your view, should youth be able to decide whether they may/may not engage in sexual relations? Yes ☐ No ☐ Please explain : \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

### Residential Density

- \* Are you living by yourself? Yes ☐ No ☐
  - \* Number of people living in your home/dwelling? \_\_\_\_\_
  - \* How many married couples share this dwelling with you? \_\_\_\_\_
  - \* How many parents live in this house/dwelling? \_\_\_\_\_
  - \* How many children live in this dwelling? \_\_\_\_\_
  - \* Are you living with your parents? Yes ☐ No ☐
  - \* Are you married/engaged? Yes ☐ No ☐
  - \* If Yes, how do you and your wife/husband get along with your parents? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  - \* Are you living with your in-laws? Yes ☐ No ☐
  - \* If Yes, how do you and your wife/husband get along with your in-laws? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  - \* What do you do if you need time by yourself? \_\_\_\_\_
- Do you share a bedroom with other family members at this time? Yes ☐ No ☐
- \* If Yes, how do you feel about it? \_\_\_\_\_



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### dependency Ratio

Members of household  
\_\_\_\_\_ =

Members employed

Has this ratio changed in the past year? \_\_\_\_\_

When financial difficulty arises, such as unemployment, what measures do you employ to maintain your current lifestyle (i.e. : increased informal sector activities, altering of the dependency ratio)? \_\_\_\_\_

### problems in school

What is your highest standard passed? \_\_\_\_\_

Any other qualifications? \_\_\_\_\_

Did you have to repeat any school year? Yes ☐ No ☐

If Yes, please explain \_\_\_\_\_

Have you ever been expelled from school ? Yes ☐ No ☐

If Yes, please explain \_\_\_\_\_

Is it difficult to respect those in authority (i.e. school teacher, minister, parents)? Yes ☐ No ☐

Please explain \_\_\_\_\_

What is the most troubling aspect to you for attending school? \_\_\_\_\_

Parents: What problems, if any, does your child/ren currently experience in school?

What is the main contributing factor from your point of view?

Would you say your child/ren have more problems in school compared to his/her/their friends? Yes ☐ No ☐

If Yes, please explain \_\_\_\_\_

**Teacher:** If you have a student that is defiant or unco-operative, what contributing factors usually play a role in these circumstances? \_\_\_\_\_

What measures do you take to resolve these difficulties? \_\_\_\_\_

What is your impression about possible difficulties in student's ..... life ?

#### **Exposure to Westernised/economical system**

\* How many generations have you/your family been in this township? \_\_\_\_\_

\* What has become of initiation for boys and girls? \_\_\_\_\_

\* Were you initiated? Yes ☐ No ☐ Please explain \_\_\_\_\_

\* How important have finances become when considering the cost of initiation, the paying of lobola and the exercising of polygamy? \_\_\_\_\_

\* Do you hold any credit cards, clothing accounts? Yes ☐ No ☐

\* Please explain \_\_\_\_\_

\* How would you describe the area in which you live (poor, middle, upper class)? \_\_\_\_\_

\* How do you feel living in this area? \_\_\_\_\_

\* Who in this township would you consider to be a role model, someone you look up to? \_\_\_\_\_

\* Please explain \_\_\_\_\_

\* Please explain the term: **"Time is money"** \_\_\_\_\_

\* In your opinion, does the influence of and exposure to Westernised values and culture undermine parental authority? Yes ☐ No ☐ Please explain \_\_\_\_\_



## Occupational challenges

What is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

What are the **time** demands of this job? \_\_\_\_\_

How much time do you spend working and commuting daily? \_\_\_\_\_

What provisions do you make to spend quality time with your child/ren? \_\_\_\_\_

As a family do things together (common interests, hobbies, activities)? Yes ☐ No ☐

If Yes, please explain \_\_\_\_\_

Given your responsibilities at work, do you in some way feel you have lost touch with your children/spouse? Yes ☐ No ☐ Please explain \_\_\_\_\_

How do you deal with problems at work? \_\_\_\_\_

How do you deal with problems at home? \_\_\_\_\_

Children: \* Do your parents spend time with you in doing things with you (i.e. playing soccer, sitting and talk together)? Yes ☐ No ☐ Please explain \_\_\_\_\_

Do you often experience misunderstandings with your parents? Yes ☐ No ☐

Please explain \_\_\_\_\_

To what do you attribute this? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you feel your father/mother is literally unavailable to you due to his/her job/workload?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Please explain \_\_\_\_\_

Does this lead to increased family disorganization/conflict/violence conflict? Yes ☐ No ☐

Please explain \_\_\_\_\_

What do you do to assist in this matter? \_\_\_\_\_



Ward # \_\_\_\_\_ Surname: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Family # \_\_\_\_\_ Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_  
 Subject # \_\_\_\_\_

### RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MY HUSBAND/WIFE AND I

No matter how well spouses get along, there are times when they disagree, get annoyed with each other, want different things from each other, or just have arguments or fights because they are in a bad mood, are tired, or for some other reason. Spouses also have many different ways of trying to settle their differences with each other. Following is a list of things that might happen when you and your wife/husband had differences or were angry with each other.

Please circle how many times each of you did the things on this list in the past year. If neither of you did one of these things in the past year, but it happened some year before, circle "7".

- 1 = Once in the past year
- 2 = Twice in the past year
- 3 = 3-5 times in the past year
- 4 = 6-10 times in the past year
- 5 = 11-20 times in the past year
- 6 = More than 20 times in the past year
- 7 = Not the past year, but some other year before
- 0 = This has never happened

My husband/wife showed he/she cared about me even when we disagreed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I showed I cared about my husband/wife even when we disagreed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
My husband/wife explained his/her side of a disagreement to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I explained my side of a disagreement to my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
My husband/wife insulted or swore at me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I insulted or swore at my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
My husband/wife threw something at me that could hurt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I threw something at my husband/wife that could hurt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
My husband/wife twisted my arm or hair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I twisted my husband/wife's arm or hair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
My husband/wife had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
My husband/wife showed respect for my feelings about an issue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I showed respect for my husband/wife's feelings about an issue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
My husband/wife pushed or shoved me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I pushed or shoved my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
My husband/wife used a knife or gun on me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I used a knife or gun on my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
My husband/wife passed out from being hit on the head by me in a fight	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I passed out from a hit on the head in a fight with my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
My husband/wife called me fat or ugly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I called my husband/wife fat or ugly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
My husband/wife punched or hit me with something that could hurt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0



24.	I punched or hit my husband/wife with something that could hurt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
25.	My husband/wife destroyed something belonging to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
26.	I destroyed something belonging to my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
27.	My husband/wife went to a doctor because of a fight with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
28.	I went to a doctor because of a fight with my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
29.	My husband/wife choked me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
30.	I choked my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
31.	My husband/wife shouted or yelled at me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
32.	I shouted or yelled at my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
33.	My husband/wife slammed me against a wall	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
34.	I slammed my husband/wife against a wall	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
35.	My husband/wife said he/she was sure that we could work out a problem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
36.	I said I was sure that we could work out a problem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
37.	My husband/wife needed to see a doctor because of a fight with me, but didn't go	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
38.	I needed to see a doctor because of a fight with my husband/wife, but didn't go	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
39.	My husband/wife beat me up	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
40.	I beat my up husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
41.	My husband/wife grabbed me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
42.	I grabbed my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
43.	My husband/wife stomped out of the room or house or yard when he had a disagreement with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
44.	I stomped out of the room or house or yard when my husband/wife had a disagreement with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
45.	My husband/wife slapped me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
46.	I slapped my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
47.	My husband/wife had a broken bone from a fight with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
48.	I had a broken bone from a fight with my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
49.	My husband/wife suggested a compromise to a disagreement with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
50.	I suggested a compromise to a disagreement with my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
51.	My husband/wife burned or scalded me on purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
52.	I burned or scalded my husband/wife on purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
53.	My husband/wife did something to spite me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
54.	I did something to spite my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
55.	My husband/wife threatened to hit or throw something at me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
56.	I threatened to hit or throw something at my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
57.	My husband/wife felt physical pain that still hurt the next day because of a fight with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
58.	I still felt physical pain the next day because of a fight with my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
59.	My husband/wife kicked me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
60.	I kicked my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
61.	My husband/wife agreed to try a solution to a disagreement suggested by me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
62.	I agreed to try a solution to a disagreement suggested by my husband/wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0



Ward # \_\_\_\_\_ Surname: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Family # \_\_\_\_\_ Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_

Subject # \_\_\_\_\_

**RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MY SON/DAUGHTER AND I**

No matter how well parents and children get along, there are times when they disagree, get annoyed with each other, want different things from each other, or just have arguments or fights because they are in a bad mood, are tired, or for some other reason. Children/parents also have many different ways of trying to settle their differences with each other. This is a list of things that might happen when you and your children had differences or were angry with each other.

Please circle how many times each of you did the things on this list in the past year. If you or your children did not do one of these things in the past year, but it happened some year before, circle "7".

- 1 = Once in the past year
- 2 = Twice in the past year
- 3 = 3-5 times in the past year
- 4 = 6-10 times in the past year
- 5 = 11-20 times in the past year
- 6 = More than 20 times in the past year
- 7 = Not past year, but some other year before
- 0 = This has never happened

1. Son/daughter showed he/she cared about me even when we disagreed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
2. I showed I cared about my son/daughter even when we disagreed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
3. Son/daughter explained his/her side of a disagreement to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
4. I explained my side of a disagreement to my son/daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
5. Son/daughter insulted or swore at me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
6. I insulted or swore at my son/daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
7. Son/daughter threw something at me that could hurt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
8. I threw something at my son/daughter that could hurt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
9. Son/daughter twisted my arm or hair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
10. I twisted my son/daughter's arm or hair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
11. Son/daughter had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
12. I had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with my son/daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
13. Son/daughter showed respect for my feelings about an issue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
14. I showed respect for my son/daughter's feelings about an issue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
15. Son/daughter pushed or shoved me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
16. I pushed or shoved my son/daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
17. Son/daughter used a knife or gun on me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
18. I used a knife or gun on my son/daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
19. Son/daughter passed out from being hit on the head by me in a fight	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
20. I passed out from a hit on the head in a fight with my son/daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
21. Son/daughter called me fat or ugly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
22. I called my son/daughter fat or ugly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
23. Son/daughter punched or hit me with something that could hurt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
24. I punched or hit my son/daughter with something that could hurt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0



25.	Son/daughter destroyed something belonging to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
26.	I destroyed something belonging to my son/daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
27.	Son/daughter went to a doctor because of a fight with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
28.	I went to a doctor because of a fight with my son/daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
29.	Son/daughter choked me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
30.	I choked my son/daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
31.	Son/daughter shouted or yelled at me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
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34.	I slammed my son/daughter against a wall	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
35.	Son/daughter said he/she was sure that we could work out a problem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
36.	I said I was sure that we could work out a problem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
37.	Son/daughter needed to see a doctor because of a fight with me, but didn't go	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
38.	I needed to see a doctor because of a fight with my son/daughter, but didn't go	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
39.	Son/daughter beat me up	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
40.	I beat my son/daughter up	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
41.	Son/daughter grabbed me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
42.	I grabbed my son/daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
43.	Son/daughter stomped out of the room or house or yard when he/she had a disagreement with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
44.	I stomped out of the room or house or yard when I had a disagreement with my son/daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
45.	Son/daughter slapped me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
46.	I slapped my son/daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
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52.	I burned or scalded my son/daughter on purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
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54.	I did something to spite my son/daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
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56.	I threatened to hit or throw something at my son/daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
57.	Son/daughter felt physical pain that still hurt the next day because of a fight with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
58.	I still felt physical pain the next day because of a fight with my son/daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
59.	Son/daughter kicked me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
60.	I kicked my son/daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
61.	Son/daughter agreed to try a solution to a disagreement suggested by me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
62.	I agreed to try a solution to a disagreement suggested by my son/daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0



Ward # \_\_\_\_\_ Surname: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Family # \_\_\_\_\_ Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_  
 Subject # \_\_\_\_\_

### RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MY FATHER/MOTHER AND I

No matter how well parents and children get along, there are times when they disagree, get annoyed with each other, want different things from each other, or just have arguments or fights because they are in a bad mood, are tired, or for some other reason. Parents/children also have many different ways of trying to settle their differences with each other. This is a list of things that might happen when you and your parents had differences or were angry with each other.

#### Children note:

If your mother and father (or step mother or step father) were not living together in the past year and you were living with your mother, please answer about your mother and the man she was living with then. If you were living with your father or step father, but not your mother, please answer about your father and the woman he was living with then.

Please circle how many times each of you did the things on this list in the past year. If you or your parents did not do one of these things in the past year, but it happened some year before, circle "7".

- 1 = Once in the past year
- 2 = Twice in the past year
- 3 = 3-5 times in the past year
- 4 = 6-10 times in the past year
- 5 = 11-20 times in the past year
- 6 = More than 20 times in the past year
- 7 = Not the past year, but some other year before
- 0 = This has never happened

1. Father/mother showed he/she cared about me even when we disagreed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
2. I showed I cared about my father/mother even when we disagreed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
3. Father/mother explained his/her side of a disagreement to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
4. I explained my side of a disagreement to my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
5. Father/mother insulted or swore at me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
6. I insulted or swore at my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
7. Father/mother threw something at me that could hurt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
8. I threw something at my father/mother that could hurt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
9. Father/mother twisted my arm or hair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
10. I twisted my father/mother's arm or hair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
11. Father/mother had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
12. I had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
13. Father/mother showed respect for my feelings about an issue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
14. I showed respect for my father/mother's feelings about an issue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
15. Father/mother pushed or shoved me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0



16.	I pushed or shoved my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
17.	Father/mother used a knife or gun on me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
18.	I used a knife or gun on my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
19.	Father/mother passed out from being hit on the head by me in a fight	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
20.	I passed out from a hit on the head in a fight with my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
21.	Father/mother called me fat or ugly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
22.	I called my father/mother fat or ugly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
23.	Father/mother punched or hit me with something that could hurt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
24.	I punched or hit my father/mother with something that could hurt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
25.	Father/mother destroyed something belonging to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
26.	I destroyed something belonging to my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
27.	Father/mother went to a doctor because of a fight with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
28.	I went to a doctor because of a fight with my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
29.	Father/mother choked me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
30.	I choked my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
31.	Father/mother shouted or yelled at me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
32.	I shouted or yelled at my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
33.	Father/mother slammed me against a wall	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
34.	I slammed my father/mother against a wall	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
35.	Father/mother said he/she was sure that we could work out a problem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
36.	I said I was sure that we could work out a problem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
37.	Father/mother needed to see a doctor because of a fight with me, but didn't go	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
38.	I needed to see a doctor because of a fight with my father/mother, but didn't go	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
39.	Father/mother beat me up	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
40.	I beat my father/mother up	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
41.	Father/mother grabbed me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
42.	I grabbed my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
43.	Father/mother stomped out of the room or house or yard when he/she had a disagreement with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
44.	I stomped out of the room or house or yard when I had a disagreement with my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
45.	Father/mother slapped me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
46.	I slapped my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
47.	Father/mother had a broken bone from a fight with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
48.	I had a broken bone from a fight with my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
49.	Father/mother suggested a compromise to a disagreement with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
50.	I suggested a compromise to a disagreement with my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
51.	Father/mother burned or scalded me on purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
52.	I burned or scalded my father/mother on purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
53.	Father/mother did something to spite me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
54.	I did something to spite my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
55.	Father/mother threatened to hit or throw something at me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
56.	I threatened to hit or throw something at my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
57.	Father/mother felt physical pain that still hurt the next day because of a fight with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
58.	I still felt physical pain the next day because of a fight with my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
59.	Father/mother kicked me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
60.	I kicked my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
61.	Father/mother agreed to try a solution to a disagreement suggested by me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
62.	I agreed to try a solution to a disagreement suggested by my father/mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0



Ward # \_\_\_\_\_ Surname: \_\_\_\_\_ Stellenbosch University <http://scholar.sun.ac.za>

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Family # \_\_\_\_\_ Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Age \_\_\_\_\_

Subject # \_\_\_\_\_

## RELATIONSHIPS WITH A BROTHER OR SISTER

No matter how well children get along, there are times when they disagree, get annoyed with each other, want different things from each other, or just have arguments or fights because they are in a bad mood, are tired, or for some other reason. Children also have many different ways of trying to settle their differences with each other. This is a list of things that might happen when you and one of your brothers or sisters had differences or were angry with each other.

### Which Brother or Sister?

Please answer the questions about the brother or sister whose age is closest to you (unless you receive instructions to pick a different brother or sister).

A1. Is the one you will talk about a brother or sister? (circle one answer number)

1 = A brother      2 = A sister

A2. How much younger/older is he or she?

\_\_\_\_ Years younger OR \_\_\_\_ Years older

Please circle a number for each question to show how many times you and your brother or sister did the things on this list in the past year.

### How often did this happen in the past year?

- 1 = Once
- 2 = Twice
- 3 = 3-5 times
- 4 = 6-10 times
- 5 = 11-20 times
- 6 = More than 20 times
- 7 = Not in the past year, but it did happen before
- 0 = This has never happened

1.	I showed I cared about this brother/sister even when we disagreed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
2.	This brother/sister showed he/she cared about me even when we disagreed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
3.	I explained my side of a disagreement to this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
4.	This brother/sister explained his/her side of a disagreement to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
5.	I insulted or swore at this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
6.	This brother/sister insulted or swore at me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
7.	I threw something that could hurt at this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
8.	This brother/sister threw something at me that could hurt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
9.	I twisted this brother/sister's arm or hair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
10.	This brother/sister twisted my arm or hair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
11.	I had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
12.	This brother/sister had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
13.	I showed respect for this brother/sister's feelings about an issue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
14.	This brother/sister showed respect for my feelings about an issue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
15.	I pushed or shoved this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
16.	This brother/sister pushed or shoved me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0



17.	I used a knife or gun on this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
18.	This brother/sister used a knife or gun on me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
19.	I passed out from being hit on the head by this brother/sister in a fight	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
20.	This brother/sister passed out from a hit on the head in a fight with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
21.	I called this brother/sister fat or ugly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
22.	This brother/sister called me fat or ugly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
23.	I punched or hit this brother/sister with something that could hurt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
24.	This brother/sister punched or hit me with something that could hurt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
25.	I destroyed something belonging to this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
26.	This brother/sister destroyed something belonging to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
27.	I went to a doctor because of a fight with this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
28.	This brother/sister went to a doctor because of a fight with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
29.	I choked this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
30.	This brother/sister choked me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
31.	I shouted or yelled at this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
32.	This brother/sister shouted or yelled at me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
33.	I slammed this brother/sister against a wall	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
34.	This brother/sister slammed me against a wall	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
35.	I said I was sure we could work out a problem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
36.	This brother/sister said he/she was sure we could work out a problem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
37.	I needed to see a doctor because of a fight with the brother/sister, but didn't go	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
38.	This brother/sister needed to see a doctor because of a fight with me, but didn't go	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
39.	I beat up this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
40.	This brother/sister beat me up	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
41.	I grabbed this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
42.	This brother/sister grabbed me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
43.	I stomped out of the room or house or yard when I had a disagreement with this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
44.	This brother/sister stomped out of the room or house or yard when he/she had a disagreement with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
45.	I slapped this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
46.	This brother/sister slapped me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
47.	I had a broken bone from a fight with this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
48.	This brother/sister had a broken bone from a fight with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
49.	I suggested a compromise to a disagreement with this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
50.	This brother/sister suggested a compromise to a disagreement with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
51.	I burned or scalded this brother/sister on purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
52.	This brother/sister burned or scalded me on purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
53.	I did something to spite this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
54.	This brother/sister did something to spite me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
55.	I threatened to hit or throw something at this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
56.	This brother/sister threatened to hit or throw something at me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
57.	I felt physical pain that still hurt the next day because of a fight with this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
58.	This brother/sister still felt physical pain the next day because of a fight with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
59.	I kicked this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
60.	This brother/sister kicked me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
61.	I agreed to try a solution to a disagreement suggested by this brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
62.	This brother/sister agreed to try a solution to a disagreement suggested by me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0